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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the language attitudes of the Paraguayan people toward their two languages, Guarani and Spanish. To study the bilingual situation in the South American country, a pilot survey was carried out in the capital city addressing the major topics of language attitudes, language usage, and language varieties. The goals of the survey were: (1) to find out the Paraguayans attitudes toward their two languages, (2) to find out if they valued Guarani, (3) to see how they viewed the future of Guarani, (4) to see what they thought of using Guarani and/or Spanish in the schools, and (5) to see how knowledge of the two languages influenced their ability to use them. In the data analysis it was found that 78% of the 65 informants thought that Spanish and Guarani should be used as languages of instruction. The results showed that although they saw Guarani as an interference with Spanish, they also viewed Spanish as having a lexical and phonological influence on Guarani. The responses of those with different mother tongues were compared, and it was found that 77% of the Guarani mother tongue speakers thought that both languages should be used in school, compared to 56% of the Spanish mother tongue speakers. This study can be used to view objectively the educational system in Paraguay as it is affected by the bilingual situation. (NCR)

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ATTITUDES TOWARD GUARANI AND SPANISH:

A PILOT STUDY IN PARAGUAY

A Long Paper
submitted for Dialect Geography (545)
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by

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to Balda

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Background of Language Situation in Paraguay

The language situation in Paraguay, a country located in the center of South America, is a very unusual one. In contrast to other Latin American countries (Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico) where the Indian language is spoken only by the indigenous population, in Paraguay the Guarani language is spoken by 92% of the population. Originally spoken by the Guarani Indians who inhabited the area, the language was maintained along with Spanish after the Spaniards arrived because of intermarriage between the two groups. Several factors have contributed to the perpetuation of Guarani in Paraguay. First, the country is isolated from major communication routes and historically has not had as much external influence as other Latin American countries. Second, the Guarani language was used as a unifying force during the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870), where Paraguay fought against Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina. The Paraguayan soldiers could speak in Guarani and nobody on the opposing side could understand them. And third, this language was what made Paraguayans unique; they had a national pride in their language because they were the only people who spoke it.

These historical factors have contributed to the present situation in Paraguay. Both Spanish and Guarani have

important functions. Strangely enough in a country where 92% of the people speak Guarani, it was not until 1967 that the government first legally recognized the Guarani language. Article V of the Paraguayan Constitution of 1967 states:

> Los idiomas nacionales de la república son el español y el guaraní. Será de uso oficial el español. (The national languages of Paraguay are Spanish and Guarani. Spanish will be used for official purposes.)

Before 1967, students were forbidden to use Guarani in the classroom and upper-class parents forbade their children to speak it at home. Because of the government's strong negative feelings toward the language it became thought of as a "low-class" language not to be used by educated people (dos Santos, 1979). Until the 1960's the government discouraged the use of Guarani and encouraged the use of Spanish for all purposes. The attitudes of Paraguayans toward Guarani have slowly been changing since the government proclaimed it a national language along with Spanish. They have begun to realize that it is not a language for the poor people only. Many secondary schools in Asunción now teach Guarani as a required subject. The fact that it is now being taught in the schools shows just how important it is to the government that all Paraguayans know Guarani. The majority (78%) of the people interviewed in 1979 in Asunción expressed pride in their language and thought that Guarani would always be

an important language in Paraguay. Because of the changing position of the government toward Guarani and the actual increase in the use of Spanish among Paraguayans, there is a wide variety of attitudes toward the use of Spanish and Guarani. It is hypothesized that the attitudes of the Paraguayans will vary according to their socio-economic class (education and occupation), and their mother tongue.

Purpose of Study

To study the Guarani/Spanish situation in Paraguay, I devised a pilot survey to be carried out in Asunción, the capital city, in June 1979 (see Appendix I). With the help of experienced questionnaire writers, I wrote a 4-page questionnaire addressing the major topics of language attitudes, language usage, and language varieties in Spanish and Guarani. My main goal in doing the survey in Paraguay was to find out the attitudes of Paraguayans toward their two languages. I wanted to find out if they valued Guarani and I wanted to see how they viewed the future of Guarani in Paraguay. One of the most interesting questions I wanted to address was what they thought of using Guarani and/or Spanish in the schools. I was also interested in how knowledge of the two languges influenced their ability to use the two languages. I hypothesized that attitudes toward

bilingual education would be negative and that Paraguayans would think Guarani had a negative influence on Spanish. In this paper I review the literature written on language attitudes and bilingualism in Paraguay, and then I discuss my methodology and my field work experience. Next I present the data analysis, showing Paraguayans views of: (1) learning Spanish and Guarani, (2) using Spanish and Guarani in the schools, (3) Guarani as an obstacle in schools, (4) Guarani as an interference in Spanish, and (5) the future of Guarani. I then compare those who had Guarani as a mother tongue with those who had Spanish as a mother tongue. In addition, those with little education are compared with those who had higher education. Finally, I present an evaluation of the questionnaire and my conclusions.

Review of Literature

In developing my survey, I consulted works about language attitudes and how to measure them. My first job was to define "language attitudes" and decide what it was I wanted to measure. Robert Cooper and Joshua Fishman suggest in "The Study of Language Attitudes" (1974) that attitudes toward a language, a feature of a language, language use, or towards language as a group marker are all examples of language attitudes. I was interested in attitudes toward language use in education and toward the influences the languages had on

each other. Shuy and Fasold's work Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects (1973) gave me suggestions on how to approach the topic as well as Agheyisi and Fishman's "Language Attitude Studies: A Brief Survey" (1970). Since my survey was not only assessing language attitudes I was also interested in reading about general sociolinguistic surveys and I found useful Ohannessian, Ferguson and Polome's Language Surveys in Developing Nations: Papers and Reports on Sociolinguistic Surveys (1975). Of course the most relevant to my study were those written about Paraguay. Joan Rubin's National Bilingualism in Paraguay (1968) is a classic work analyzing Paraguayan bilingualism. Rubin discusses the interrelationships among stability, usage, attitudes, acquisition, and proficiency and shows how they relate to the Paraguayan situation. Many of her ideas were incorporated into this research. Other works consulted on Guarani in Paraguay include Garvin and Mathiot's "The Urbanization of the Guarani Language" (1968) and Jose Pedro Rona's "The Social and Cultural Status of Guarani in Paraguay" (1966).

Methodology

I planned to sample at least 50 people, and I wanted to get men and women, young and old, from a variety of social classes and education levels. I restricted the survey to residents of Asunción, and planned to do each interview orally by asking the questions and writing down the answers myself.

I expected each interview to last about half an hour. Although I was aware that the answers would be biased depending on which language I asked the questions in, I did all the interviews in Spanish because my Guarani was not adequate for interviewing purposes. Since my informants were all living in Asunción, there was a better chance that the languge they would all have in common would be Spanish. Since my purpose was to get a varied group of Paraguayans for my survey, I chose my informants from different socio-economic levels. I had a limited amount of time in Asunción (one month), so I did not choose a "random sample" (randomly selecting people from a given area). In some way or another, I had a connection with all the people I interviewed. My informants included the mechanic living next door to us in Asunción, the dress-maker across the street, the people who ran the "despensa" on our block, secretaries at the American Embassy, school teachers, maids, gardeners, hairdressers, government officials, and more (see Appendix II for occupations of all informants). I attempted to get a cross-section of the Asunción population by selecting my informants from different occupations as well as from different ages and both sexes.

Before I arrived in Paraguay I sample-tested my interview on two Paraguayans living in the U.S. But even after using their suggestions to improve the interview, I encountered a few difficulties with my questions. The problems dealt mostly with the Spanish wording I chose. I used the word

"español" to refer to the Spanish language instead of the word "castellano" that is used in Paraguay. And in question no. 19, I meant to ask, "Is it important to you that your grandchildren and great-grandchildren know Guarani?" but instead I asked, "Does it matter to you if your grandchildren and great-grandchildren know Guarani?" I used the phrase "le importa a ud." instead of "es importante para ud." Luckily, however, after the first two interviews I realized my mistakes and was able to correct them for subsequent interviews. I started each interview with question no. 1 (What was the first language you learned?) and proceeded to the end before I asked about the personal data (age, occupation, education, place of birth, etc.). I thought it would be easier for the informant and less like a test if I did not ask the personal questions first. During the interview I encouraged them to give their opinions on anything related to languages in Paraguay. I tried to do all the interviews individually, but this was not always possible, so in 5 instances the interviews were done in a group. I tape recorded three of the interviews so as to have a record of my interviewing procedure. I was able to get more than my goal of 50 interviews because of the willing help of two Peace Corps volunteers. Jan Fitzgerald, a sociolinguist, did 14 interviews. She also did a test interview in Guarani of a monolingual Guarani speaker. Jack McLaughlin, an anthropologist, did four interviews. Because of their help I was able to complete a total of 68 interviews.

Description of Field Work Experience

The interviews varied in length from 20 minutes to an hour and a half. It depended on the personality of the informant and how much s/he was willing to talk. I encouraged free conversation so we would often get into interesting discussions. I found that almost all the informants were interested in the topic and pleased to be asked the questions. It was a subject they all knew about so it was easy for them to answer the questions. And since it was all opinion and attitudes, there were no right or wrong answers for them to worry about giving. The combination of these factors plus the fact that they like talking to Americans made for enjoyable interview sessions on both sides. Many of them had very strong feelings about the usage of Guarani, and this gave them a chance to talk about them. They were not inhibited about expressing their views as I thought they would be. The repressive government of Paraguay does not encourage open expression of ideas, but since in the last decade the government has changed their view of Guarani toward a more positive one, maybe the people feel that they can be more open about it now. In any case, almost everyone had a definite opinion on what they thought of Guarani and was interested in talking about it. This was a great advantage to me because it was not difficult to get the interviews started.

One problem I encountered with some of the informants who had Guarani as their mother tongue was that they did not understand some of the words. The troublesome words included "obstaculíza" in, "Obstaculíza el Guarani el aprendizaje en la escuela?" (Is Guarani an obstacle to learning in school?) and "entorpece" in, "Entorpece el Guarani el conocimiento del español?" (Does Guarani interfere with your knowledge of Spanish?) In one case during the interview the informant's sister told me that he didn't speak Spanish very well and didn't understand those words. In another case, I didn't realize the misunderstanding until I was listening to the tape of the interview and noticed that the informant had answered "yes" to questions 6-13. This meant that she either followed a tendency to say "yes" to whatever I said, or she did not understand the questions, which I think was the case in this situation. With all my informants, I tried to start up a casual conversation before I started the interview so they would feel more comfortable and at ease talking with me. This technique worked well and helped alleviate any suspicion they may have had about the survey.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Learning Guarani and Spanish

Out of the total of 68 informants, 32% of them had Guarani as their first language (mother tongue), 47% had Spanish, 16% learned Guarani and Spanish at the same time, and 4% learned another language or didn't know which they learned first (see Appendix I for complete data). (It is interesting to note that the two informants who could not say which language they learned first were linguists!) The majority of the informants learned Guarani from their parents and family (57%), 18% learned from their friends, 15% learned other ways (some of them specifying their maids), and 9% didn't speak Guarani at all. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of the informants speak Guarani fluently (a self-assessment), 28% speak from fair to well, and 3% speak Guarani with difficulty. In self-rating their Spanish ability, 87% said they speak Spanish fluently and the rest of the 13% said they speak it either fair or very well. Although I haven't yet analyzed the significance this has to the bilingual situation, 50% of the informants reported they "think" in Spanish; 28% in Guarani or Spanish, depending on the situation; 12% in Guarani; 4% in English or Spanish, depending on the situation; and 6% in "joparâ." (Joparâ is the Guarani word for mixture, and is used to refer to code-switching, or the usage of both Guarani and Spanish.)

Spanish and Guarani in the Schools

The answers to questions 8 through 12 proved to be the most useful for my study. The questions were:

8. Cree Ud. que se debería usar guaraní y español como idiomas de instrucción en Paraguay (educación bilingüe)? (Do you think Guarani and Spanish should be used as languages of instruction in Paraguay?
9. Le gustaría que sus hijos use el español y el guaraní indistintamente en la escuela? (Would you like you children to use Spanish and Guarani interchangeably in school?)
10. Obstaculíza el guaraní el aprendizaje en la escuela? (Is Guarani an obstacle to learning in school?)
11. Entorpece el guaraní el conocimiento del español? (Does Guarani interfere with knowledge of Spanish?)
12. Desearía que sus hijos hablara solamente en español en la escuela? (Would you like your children to speak only Spanish in school?)

To question no. 8, 63% thought that Spanish and Guarani should be used as languages of instruction in all regions of Paraguay, including Asunción. This was a surprising result to me since only 15 years ago the use of Guarani was forbidden in the schools. Fifteen percent (15%) thought that both languages should be taught only in the rural areas where no Spanish is spoken. And 16% said that Guarani should never be taught in the schools and Spanish should be the only language of instruction. To question no. 9, 69% said "yes," they wanted their children to speak both languages, 21% said "no," and the rest said it didn't matter or they didn't know. Presumably the 21% who said "no" would want their children to speak only Spanish in school. Number 12, "Would you like your children to speak only Spanish in school?" is a check question on no. 9.

Compared to the 21% in no. 9, in this question 32% said that they wanted their children to speak only Spanish in school. The discrepancy between no. 9 and no. 12 may be due to the wording of the questions; no. 9 implies that a "yes" answer is desirable while no. 12 may make a "no" answer more desirable. (The combination of the verb "desearía" (would you want) and the word "solamente" (only) may make the informant think that the "no" answer is more correct.) But there is also the possibility that those questioned don't know exactly what they want for their children, and this is shown by the inconsistencies of the answers.

Guarani as an Obstacle in Schools

Question no. 10, "Is Guarani an obstacle to learning in school and why?" can be interpreted in 2 ways. Many of the informants replied that yes, it was an obstacle for people in the rural areas (or for people who know only Guarani), but no, it was not an obstacle for people who live in the city (or for people who know Spanish). The proportion of people who answered "yes" vs. those who answered "no" is not really valid (43% yes, 51% no, 6% don't know), because people who think the same put opposite answers, depending on their interpretation of the question. Some of the yes answerers qualified their statements by saying, "yes, it is an obstacle, if you don't speak Spanish," while some of the no answerers

qualified their statements by saying, "no, it's not an obstacle if you already speak the two languages." These two people actually agree with each other, although on the surface their answers are opposite. The following are examples of this point, with yes and no answers and their reasons:

10. Is Guarani an obstacle to learning in school? Why?

Informant No.	YES Answers
*13	Yes, in the rural areas.
*17	Yes, it doesn't allow the child to obtain fluency in Spanish.
*18	Yes, in the country. No, in Asunción.
*19	Yes. The children don't understand the teachers speaking only Spanish.
23	Yes, because the teaching system is inadequate.
*25	Yes, if you don't speak Spanish. No, if you do.
*27	Yes, because they don't know how to speak Spanish.
54	Yes, it interferes with my Spanish.
*56	Yes, if you only speak Guarani. No, if you speak both Guarani and Spanish.
*59	Yes, because all the texts are in Spanish.
61	Yes, because Guarani is very different from Spanish and very primitive.
*63	Yes, they're taught in Spanish and only know how to answer in Guarani.

Informant No.	NO Answers
7	No, because the two languages have different structures.
8	No, because they are different.
*10	No in the city; yes in the country.
*11	No, but it depends on their cultural level. Maybe yes in the country.
*14	No, if they already speak 2 languages. Yes, if they only speak Guarani.
15	No. Learning other languages are not obstacles to Spanish, so Guarani isn't either.
*21	No. It's that the child doesn't know Spanish.
22	No! That's an old-fashioned idea.
62	No, because the children hear the 2 languages at the same time.

The starred terms all express the view that Guarani is an obstacle to learning in school if the child speaks only Guarani (or lives in the country), and is not an obstacle if the child already speaks Spanish (or lives in the city). Since education has traditionally been in Spanish in both the rural areas where little Spanish is spoken and in the capital city, it is logical that Guarani would be thought of as an obstacle to learning. And as one of the informants said, "Guarani is an obstacle to learning because all the texts are in Spanish." That certainly is an obstacle. When I originally thought of this question, I did not expect it to be interpreted that way. Therefore, the reasons given for the answers are meaningful, though the percentage of straight yes-no answers is not.

Guarani as an Interference in Spanish

I asked question 11, "Does Guarani interfere with knowledge of Spanish?" because I knew that historically that was a common misconception among Paraguayans; maybe because they had been told that by the government or taught it in school. As with question 10, I had thought the question would have a single interpretation, but it was interpreted two ways. Some said it depended on how well you knew Spanish, and others said they mixed the two languages and used jopará. Again, I had not expected the answers I got but as in any bilingual

situation, there is some interference from each of the languages on the other. If I had worded the question the opposite way, "Does Spanish interfere with knowledge of Guarani?" many people would had said yes, because they often complain that they do not speak the true "pure" Guarani anymore. The reasons given for Guarani interference with Spanish are revealing:

11. Does Guarani interfere with knowledge of Spanish?

Informant	YES Answers
54	Yes, because I speak Guarani with my family and then cannot speak Spanish very well.
56	Yes, if you only speak Guarani. No, if you also speak Spanish.
59	Yes, for the children in the rural areas; it's difficult for them to speak Spanish.
60	Yes, sometimes Guarani and Spanish get confused.
65	Yes, the pronunciation of Spanish gets messed up.
5	Yes, up until present day.
15	Yes, for the people whose first language is Guarani; maybe they weren't taught Spanish very well.
17	Yes, it influences the grammar of Spanish.
11	Yes, our Spanish is AWFUL. We're used to thinking in Guarani.
19	Yes, by all means. Guarani is to blame for the poor Spanish that Paraguayans speak.
23	Yes, because the two languages get mixed.

Informant	NO Answers
64	No, because there are people who speak the two languages very well. (Shoeshine boy)
7	No, because they are different languages.
8	No, not if they are taught correctly.
9	No, on the contrary, Guarani helps you to understand Spanish better.
24	No, like French and English, other languages help your knowledge of Spanish.
25	No in the high class, but maybe yes in the rural areas.

Paraguayans are often expressing the view that their Spanish is not good because of the Guarani influence on it. Even though 87% of my informants said that they speak Spanish fluently, many of them said that Paraguayan Spanish is not "good" Spanish. They see their Spanish as being influenced syntactically, phonologically, and lexically by Guarani. Conversely, they also say that they don't speak "real" Guarani because of the Spanish phonological and lexical influence on it. Many speak with reverence about the pure Guarani that was originally spoken by the Guarani Indians. Their idea of a respectable language is a "pure" one, so they do not speak highly of the colloquial Guarani because it is really jopará, a mixture of the two languages.

Future of Guarani

Most of the informants were quite optimistic about the future of Guarani in Paraguay. Seventy-eight percent (78%) said that Guarani will always be in a place of importance in Paraguay. Only 13% said that Spanish will eventually replace Guarani in importance. Other opinions included a woman who said that Guarani will become the secondary language, but will still be important in the country. A Paraguayan historian (informant 2) thinks that jopará will become the most used language in Paraguay. And a secretary at the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) (informant 25), said that

everyone in Paraguay will be speaking Portuguese in 50 years. Although said partly in jest, Brazil is a powerful neighbor and there is speculation about Brazil's influence on little Paraguay. A large percentage of them also thought that using Guarani in the schools would have a positive effect on the future of Guarani. Eighty-four percent (84%) said that it would have a positive effect, 3% said it would have a negative effect, 7% didn't know or didn't answer, and 6% had other views. One of those with other views stated that teaching Guarani would have no effect on the future of Guarani. One mentioned that it depended on the profession or career of the individual. For example, a musician, he said, would need to know Guarani and it would be important for him to learn it in school. The Paraguayan historian José Antonio Perazzo said that the effect on the future of Guarani will depend on what style of Guarani is taught in the school. "If they teach formal Guarani (académico) it will have a negative influence," he stated. "But if they teach colloquial Guarani it will have a positive influence." The overwhelming percentage of people answering positively about the future of Guarani in Paraguay is important in that it shows that they do value Guarani and see its importance in education. The response to the question about the importance of their grandchildren knowing Guarani also illustrates the value Paraguayans place on their language. Eighty-two

percent (82%) said it was important to them and 13% said it wasn't important. Probably more than any other questions, these two show the importance that Paraguayans place on their language.

The question that the informants were most creative with was the one concerning the identity of a Paraguayan as measured by the Guarani s/he speaks. To the question, "Is it necessary for a person to speak Guarani to be considered a true Paraguayan?", 63% said "yes" and 37% said "no." They all had definite views on this question; no respondent said s/he didn't know. A teacher at the Paraguayan-American Cultural Center (informant 20), quoted the Paraguayan saying, "the Paraguayan who speaks Guarani is as Paraguayan as the manioc." And historian Perazzo said, "A Paraguayan who doesn't speak Guarani is like an Indian wearing clothes." And an airline mechanic (informant 68) suggested that you must play the guitar and speak Guarani to be considered a true Paraguayan. It is a common notion that Paraguayans should know Guarani, as is seen by the sayings that have developed on the topic. The influence of cultural pressures is such that even some Paraguayans who don't speak Guarani say that it is a requirement for being a Paraguayan. An Asunción banker (informant 13) said that sometimes he doesn't feel like a true Paraguayan because he can't communicate with his friends when they are

all speaking Guarani. A Paraguayan transformational grammarian studying at M.I.T. said that as a general rule Paraguayans must know Guarani, but he doesn't think that it should be necessary. One informant, Boris Michailuk, was born in Paraguay, spent 3 years in the army, speaks fluent Guarani, and is still considered a "gringo" by other Paraguayans because he has green eyes and a foreign last name. "Guarani helps a little," he agrees, "but you also have to have dark features to be considered a true Paraguayan." So even if you're a Paraguayan and you speak Guarani fluently you're not necessarily a "true" Paraguayan.

Mother Tongue as a Variable

An interesting comparison can be made between the responses of the people whose mother tongue is Guarani and those whose mother tongue is Spanish. It was hypothesized that those whose mother tongue is Guarani would see a greater need for the use of Guarani in the schools. It was also hypothesized that those who spoke Guarani from birth would be more optimistic about the future of Guarani in Paraguay. The comparison between the two groups was made by comparing the responses of the 22 mother tongue Guarani speakers and the 32 mother tongue Spanish speakers (complete data in Appendix III). (Those whose first languages

were Guarani and Spanish or who didn't remember which they learned first were not included.) Those who had spoken Guarani from birth were more interested in having their children speak Guarani in school. Seventy-seven percent (77%) of the Guarani mother tongue speakers thought that Guarani and Spanish should be used as languages of instruction in Paraguay, including Asunción, compared to 56% of Spanish mother tongue speakers. Although the total number of mother tongue Guarani speakers who are for bilingual education (82%) is almost equal to the non-mother tongue Guarani speakers (81%), the difference is that more of the native speakers think that bilingual education should also be used in Asunción, as opposed to just in the rural areas where Spanish is not spoken. Since all the informants were residents of Asunción, it is logical that the mother tongue Guarani speakers would want their mother tongue taught in the city they were living in. Perhaps the native Spanish speakers see the importance of using Guarani in schools in the rural areas where it is the major language, but do not see the necessity of teaching it along with Spanish in Asuncion where the students presumably already know Spanish. It might be concluded that the Spanish mother tongue speakers see the importance of Guarani being used in the rural areas until the students know Spanish, but not as an end in itself. Similarly, more mother tongue Guarani speakers would want their children to use Spanish and Guarani interchangeably in school (77% compared to 59%). Because of the two

interpretations of the questions regarding Guarani as an interference or obstruction to Spanish (see Chapter VI), the percentages of responses in each category are fairly equal and cannot be compared. However, I would hypothesize that more native Guarani speakers would see Guarani as an obstacle to learning in school if the situation were the traditional Paraguayan rural school where the students only speak Guarani. The mother tongue Guarani speakers would probably be more aware of the problems of learning the official language than the mother tongue Spanish speakers.

In all cases, the mother tongue Guarani speakers placed more importance on knowledge of Guarani than the mother tongue Spanish speakers. All (100%) of the mother tongue Guarani speakers said that it was important to them that their grandchildren and great-grandchildren know Guarani. Although also placing an importance on it, only 72% of the mother tongue Spanish speakers said that it was important to them for their grandchildren to know Guarani. But that is a considerable percentage of mother tongue Spanish speakers placing importance on Guarani when you realize that some of them don't even speak Guarani themselves. In the same vein, both mother tongue and non-mother tongue speakers thought that Guarani would always be important in Paraguay (86% and 66%), even though it appears that mother tongue Guarani speakers are more nationalistic about their language. More mother tongue Guarani speakers see the necessity for a

person to speak Guarani to be considered a true Paraguayan (77% vs. 50%). Both mother tongue groups value Guarani, bilingual education, and speaking Guarani in school, but in all cases the Guarani mother tongue group has a higher percentage of informants with a positive attitude.

Educational Level as a Variable

Since Paraguay historically did not develop a sharply defined class system (Rubin, 1968), it was difficult to divide the informants into socio-economic classes for comparative purposes. The data I had on each informant that could be used to define her/his class included occupation, occupation of parents, and education. Although I had an idea about which occupations were considered upper class and which were less prestigious, I had no way of verifying the Paraguayans' perception of this. I first attempted to use the "International Standard Classification of Occupations" (1970) devised by the U.N. International Labor Organization. That scale, however, was designed as a globally-encompassing classification system not specifically for Paraguay or Latin America, so I decided it was not applicable to my survey. Since there was a noticeable difference in the amount of education among the informants, I thought it would be interesting to compare the attitudes of those who had little education with those who were highly educated. I divided the informants

into two groups: one group containing those who had between 0 and 6 years of schooling, and the other group containing those who had one year or more of university training. Those who were still in secondary school, those who completed secondary school but did not continue, and those who had some level of secondary school education were not included in the results. The educational level correlated with the occupational level in that those with less education tended to have the less "prestigious" jobs, according to my judgement, and those with more education had more"prestigious" jobs. The following is a comparison of those with little education and their jobs:

Table I

Informants with 0-6 years of education and their occupations

Informant	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation
30	F	21	Primary school (completed 6 yrs.)	waitress
32	F	23	"	hairdresser
37	M	31	"	night watchman
40	F	36	"	dressmaker
44	M	44	"	driver
45	F	45	"	housewife
46	F	48	"	dressmaker
53	F	86	3rd grade	retired dressmaker/cook
54	F	51	4th grade	maid
55	F	31	4th grade	maid
56	F	38	Primary school	dressmaker
57	F	19	Primary (?)	prostitute
60	F	32	Primary	maid
62	F	28	Primary	maid
63	F	31	"	housewife
64	M	10	None	shoeshine boy
65	M	32	Primary	factory worker
66	M	65	1st grade	gardener

Most of the occupations listed in Table I are service oriented, and the people do the work with their hands (dressmakers, hairdressers, maids, etc.). In contrast to these occupations, those with more education have more prestigious jobs:

Table II

Informants with at least one year of higher education and their occupations

Informant	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation
2	M	22	univ./history	historian/journalist
3	F	22	univ./sociol.	elem. school teacher/Amer. school
7	M	25	univ./sociol.	employee(?)
8	M	25	univ./sociol.	student
9	F	26	univ./linguistics	English teacher
10	M	29	univ./M.A.	govt. official
12	M	29	univ.	"comerciante"
15	F	34	univ./law	administrator
16	F	35	univ./linguistics	Guarani teacher
17	M	36	univ./law	lawyer
19	M	41	univ./econ.	A.I.D. Evaluation Specialist
20	M	45	univ./accounting	accountant
21	F	45	univ./M.A.	teacher/Min. of Education offici
27	M	58	univ./medicine	doctor
31	F	23	univ.	student
34	F	34	univ.	secretary
35	M	29	univ.	student
38	M	33	univ./ag. eng.	Peace Corps trainer
41	M	38	univ.	"comerciante"
47	F	48	univ.	secretary
68	M	22	univ.	student/ mechanic

The people with university education listed in Table II will be classified as educational upper class in this study, and those with 0-6 years will be classified as educational lower class. Although much more than education comes into play in determining social class, for this study only education was used. As can be seen by the

data, there is a strong relationship between education and occupation. Because of the non-distinct divisions among classes in Paraguay, I did not attempt to define a middle class. My comparison of the highest and the lowest on the educational scale is an attempt to show the differing views of those on the extremes of the socio-economic continuum. It is not an attempt to generalize about all the upper and lower class, but rather an attempt to characterize the attitudes of those who were interviewed who fall into the two categories.

The comparison of attitudes by educational class is similar to the comparison by mother tongue because 45% of those with Guarani as mother tongue fall into the lesser educated class. (It should be noted that those with both Guarani and Spanish as mother tongue were not tabulated with those who had just Guarani as mother tongue.) And 41% of the mother tongue Spanish speakers fall into the higher educated class. Thus, there is a relationship between education and mother tongue. In comparing the mother tongue of the lesser educated with that of the more educated, it can be noted that 58% of the lesser educated have Guarani as their mother tongue (32% have Guarani and Spanish), while only 10% of the more educated have Guarani as their mother tongue (19% have Guarani and Spanish). The rest of the informants have Spanish as their mother tongue. The results of comparing

the two educational groups are, in general, similar to the previous comparison of the two mother tongue groups. In the majority of the cases the Guarani mother tongue group responded similarly to the lesser educated group and the Spanish mother tongue group responded similarly to the higher educated group. The majority (74%) of the lower class group favored bilingual education in all regions of Paraguay, including Asunción, while the majority (80%) of the upper class group favored bilingual education, though 28% of them wanted it only in the rural areas.

One of the outcomes of this comparison was that slightly more of the higher educated class (81%) wanted their children to speak both Spanish and Guarani in school than did the lower educated class (74%). This doesn't follow the general trend that the lower class is more supportive of bilingual education than the upper class. As with the mother tongue comparison, more of the lesser educated class thought that Guarani was an interference to Spanish. But again this may be a case of different interpretations of the question. Perhaps the lower class viewed it as interference because they had personal difficulties learning Spanish after Guarani, while the upper class may be responding that nothing inherent in Guarani interferes with Spanish. More of the lesser educated people (78%) felt that one must know Guarani to be considered a true Paraguayan (compared to 57%). Could there be more nationalistic pride among the lesser educated?

Evaluation of Questionnaire

After doing all the interviews and analyzing the data, I am pleased with the questions although there are, of course, some changes that I would make if I did it again. Some questions I would leave out completely, some I would add, and in some I would try to clarify ambiguities. One question I would ask would be, "What does 'jopará' mean to you?" I did ask questions about jopará and its usage (questions 6 and 7), but I didn't find out how the informants would define it. Apparently jopará has been divided into two categories: Spanish jopará, that is, Spanish with some Guarani in it; and Guarani jopará, Guarani with some Spanish in it. On my questions about jopará, however, I did not distinguish between the two types, so they may have been interpreted differently. Questions 16 and 24, "Do you try to teach your children the best Guarani/Spanish?" I would eliminate because I did not find them relevant to my analysis. I would also clarify the wording in questions 10 and 11 concerning the influence of Guarani on Spanish. As I pointed out in my data analysis section, both questions were interpreted in two ways.

Conclusion

Why is this study important to Paraguay and to the field of sociolinguistics? Can any conclusions be made? This study can be used to view objectively the educational system as it is affected by the bilingual situation in the country. Although this survey was a pilot study, the results are useful in seeing the positive attitude toward bilingual education in Paraguay. This study disproves my hypothesis that Paraguayans have a negative attitude toward bilingual education. On the contrary, more than half the informants (78%) wanted bilingual education and wanted their children to speak both Guarani and Spanish in school. There was an optimistic response about the future of Guarani in Paraguay, with 78% answering that Guarani will always be an important language. The majority of those questioned also wanted their great-grandchildren to know Guarani. Perhaps these results could be used to counter the ideology that Guarani should be used in school only until the child learns Spanish, the process of hispanicization. It is apparent from these results that knowing Guarani is highly valued by most, and more than half think that it is a necessity to be considered a true Paraguayan. Despite the negative view the government held toward Guarani until two decades ago, the informants had positive attitudes toward the language. This strong nationalistic pride was even more evident among those whose first language was Guarani. Even

though the informants saw a negative influence of Spanish on Guarani and of Guarani on Spanish, a feeling of nationalism emerges from their language. They don't speak what they consider "pure" languages, and they talk about the interference of the two, but the importance of Guarani as a symbol of being Paraguayan is striking.

Besides learning about their views of language during the interviews, I also acqured a better insight into their feelings as Paraguayans. Fortunately, the topic was one they were interested in and emotionally involved with so that they would present their ideas freely. Also, as my first field work experience, I was able to gain insight into methodology and techniques. The experience of devising my own survey and carrying out the field work was invaluable in understanding the mechanics of sociolinguistic research.

APPENDIX I

LANGUAGES OF PARAGUAY*
IDIOMAS DEL PARAGUAY
1979

Survey with percentages of informants who chose each answer

Age
Edad_____

Occupation or profession
Ocupación o profesión_____

Sex
Sexo_____

Occupation or profession of your parents
Ocupación o profesión
de sus padres _____

Education
Educación_____

Place of birth
Lugar de nacimiento_____

How long have you lived in Asuncion?
¿Cuántos años ha vivido Ud. en Asunción?_____

Have you travelled a lot in Paraguay? Do you frequently go to the country?
¿Ha viajado mucho en el Paraguay? ¿Ud. frecuentamente va al campo?

_____

Have you travelled outside of Paraguay? (To where?)
¿Ha viajado fuera del Paraguay? (¿A dónde?)_____

****

Please mark the responses that you consider to be correct.
Por favor, marque las respuestas que usted considera que son correctas.

1.	¿Cuál fue el primer idioma que aprendió? What was the first language you learned?	32% 47% 16% 1% 2%	☐ Guaraní ☐ Español ☐ Guaraní y español al mismo tiempo ☐ Otro idioma ¿Cual? Other language? Don't know	at the same time
2.	¿Cómo aprendió guaraní? How did you learn Guarani?	0% 57% 18% 15% 9%	☐ De mis abuelos ☐ De mis padres ☐ De mis amigos ☐ De otra manera No hablo	grandparents parents friends other 1% don't know
3.	¿Cómo habla Ud. el guaraní? How well do you speak Guarani?	59% 16% 11% 3% 10%	☐ Con facilidad ☐ Muy bien ☐ Más o menos ☐ Con dificultad ☐ No hablo	fluently very well fair with difficulty don't speak it
4.	¿Cómo habla Ud. el español? How well do you speak Spanish?	87% 10% 3%	☐ Con facilidad ☐ Muy bien ☐ Más o menos ☐ Con dificultad ☐ No hablo	fluently very well fair with difficulty don't speak it

*Note: The original survey did not include the English translation.

What language do you usually think in?

5. ¿En que idioma piensa normalmente?

4%		English or Spanish
28%		Guarani or Spanish, depending
12%	☐	Guaraní
50%	☐	Español
6%	☐	Jopará (mixture)
0%	☐	No sé

Do you sometimes speak jopara?

6. ¿A veces habla jopará?

54%	☐	Sí, frecuentamente	often
25%	☐	Sí, a veces	sometimes
16%	☐	No, nunca	never
3%	☐	No sé	don't know
1%		No answer	

When do you speak in jopara?

7. ¿Cuándo habla en jopará? _____

Do you think Guarani and Spanish should be used as languages of instruction in Paraguay?

8. ¿Cree Ud. que se debería usar guaraní y español como idiomas de instrucción en Paraguay (educación bilingüe)?

63%	Sí, en todos las regiones del Paraguay, incluyendo Asunción.	Yes, in all areas of Paraguay, including Asuncion.
15%	Sí, pero solamente en las regiones rurales donde no se habla español.	Yes, but only in rural areas
16%	No, no se debería enseñar guaraní nunca. El español debería ser el único idioma de instrucción.	Guarani should never be taught. Only Spanish
1%	En otro caso. (Explique) _____	(Other)
4%	No sé.	

9. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos use el español y el guaraní indistintamente en la escuela?

Would you like your children to use Spanish and Guarani interchangeably in school?

☐	Sí	69%
☐	No	21%
☐	No importa	7%
☐	No sé	1%; no children, 1%

10. a) ¿Obstaculíza el guaraní el aprendizaje en la escuela?

Is Guarani an obstacle to learning in school?

☐	Sí	43%
☐	No	51%
☐	No sé	6%

b) ¿Por qué? Why? _____

11. a) ¿Entorpece el guaraní el conocimiento del español?

Does Guarani interfere with knowledge of Spanish?

☐	Sí	38%
☐	No	54%
☐	No sé	6%
	no answer	1%

b) ¿Por qué? Why? _____

12. ¿Desearía que sus hijos hablara solamente en español en la escuela?

Would you like your children to speak only Spanish in school?

☐	Sí	32%
☐	No	59%
☐	No importa	6%
☐	No sé	0%
	English and Spanish	1%
	No children	1%

Are there regional varieties of Guarani?

13. a) ¿Hay variedades regionales del guaraní?
(¿Hay lugares en Paraguay donde se habla un guaraní distinto del suyo?)
(Are there places in Paraguay where they speak a different Guarani from yours?)

☐ Sí Yes
☐ No No
☐ No sé Don't know [pase a la pregunta No.14

Where do they speak these varieties?

b) ¿En que partes se hablan esas variedades?_____

In what region do you think they speak the best Guarani?

14. ¿En que región cree Ud. se habla el mejor guaraní?_____

Who speaks the best Guarani where you live?

15. ¿Quién habla el mejor guaraní donde Ud. vive?_____
(por ejemplo, sus padres, sus hermanos)
(for example, your parents, your brothers and sisters)

Do you try to teach your children to speak the best Guarani?

16. ¿Trata Ud. de enseñar a sus niños a hablar el mejor guaraní?

☐ Sí
☐ A veces Sometimes
☐ No
☐ No puedo I can't
☐ No sé Don't know

Are there situations when you prefer to use Guarani? When?

17. ¿Hay casos cuando prefiere usar guaraní? ¿Dónde?

_____

What do you think about the future of Guarani in Paraguay?

18. a) ¿Qué opina en cuanto al futuro del guaraní en el Paraguay?

78% ☐ El guaraní siempre ocupará un lugar de importancia en el Paraguay. (Guarani will always be important in Paraguay.)
13% ☐ El español eventualmente desplezorá al guaraní en importancia. (Spanish will eventually replace Guarani in importance.)
4% ☐ No sé.
4% ☐ Otra. (Explique)_____

84% Pos.
3% Neg.
6% other
3% no answer
4% don't know

b) ¿Si se usara el guaraní en la enseñanza, afectaría eso en forma positiva o negativa el futuro del guaraní?
If Guarani is used in teaching, would this have a positive or negative effect on the future of Guarani?_____

(Es importante)

19. ¿Le importa a Ud. que sus nietos y biznietos sepan guaraní?
Is it important to you that your grandchildren and great grandchildren know Guarani?

82% ☐ Sí, a mi me importa.
13% ☐ No, a mi no me importa.
3% No children; 1% no answer

20. ¿Es necesario que una persona hable guaraní para ser considerada Paraguaya de verdad?

63% ☐ Sí
37% ☐ No
0% ☐ No sé

Is it necessary for a person to speak Guarani to be considered a true Paraguayan?

Are there varieties of Paraguayan Spanish?

21. a) ¿Hay variedades del español paraguayo?
(¿Hay lugares en Paraguay donde se habla un español distinto del suyo?)

- ☐ Sí
- ☐ No
- ☐ No sé] pase a la pregunta No. 22

b) ¿En que partes se hablan esas variedades?
Where do they speak these varieties?

_____

22. ¿En que región cree Ud. se habla el mejor español? _____
Where do they speak the best Spanish?

23. ¿Quién habla el mejor español donde Ud. vive? _____
Who speaks the best Spanish where you live? (por ejemplo, sus padres, sus hermanos)

24. ¿Trata Ud. de enseñar a sus niños a hablar el mejor español?
Do you try to teach your children to speak the best Spanish?

- ☐ Sí
- ☐ A veces
- ☐ No
- ☐ No puedo
- ☐ No sé

* *

25. ¿Qué idioma usaría en los casos siguientes?*
What language would you use in the following cases?

		Guaraní	Español	Jopará	Guar/Esp. depende de las circunstancias	No es aplicable
1.	Con su esposo(a) diariamente	With your husband/wife daily				
2.	Con su esposo(a) cuando está enojado	"	husband/wife when you're mad			
3.	Con sus padres	"	parents			
4.	Con sus hijos	"	children			
5.	Con sus amigos tomando el tereré	"	friends drinking mate (Paraguayan tea)			
6.	Con su patrón	"	boss			
7.	Con sus empleados	"	employees			
8.	Con sus compañeros de trabajo	"	co-workers			
9.	Con el doctor	"	doctor			
10.	Con el curandero	"	witch doctor			
11.	Con su sirvienta diariamente	"	servant daily			
12.	Con su sirvienta cuando está enojado	"	servant when you're mad			
13.	Con sus abuelos	"	grandparents			
14.	En el campo	In the country				
15.	Con sus vecinos en Asunción	With your neighbors in Asuncion				
16.	Con el guarda del omnibus	With the money-collector on the bus				
17.	Con sus hermanos	"	your brothers and sisters			
18.	Con la marchante del mercado	"	the vender in the market			
19.	Con sus amigos haciendo chistes	"	your friends making jokes			
20.	Con una señora en falda larga con cigarro poguasu	With a woman in a long skirt and a black cigar (typical peasant woman)				
21.	Cuando quiere decir algo íntimo a su novio(a)	When you want to say something intimate to your girl/boy friend				

***

APPENDIX II

PERSONAL DATA OF INFORMANTS

Informant No.	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education
1	M	15	student	secondary school
2	M	22	historian/journalist	university
3	F	22	teacher/Amer. school	university
4	M	24	Ph.D. student/M.I.T.	university
5	F	26	secretary	secondary
6	F	25	secretary	secondary
7	M	25	student	university
8	M	25	student	university
9	F	26	teacher	university
10	M	29	government official	university
11	F	29	receptionist/Amer. Emb.	univeristy
12	M	29	businessman	university
13	M	32	banker	secondary
14	F	35	teacher/Amer. school	university
15	F	34	Administrator	university
16	F	35	Guarani teacher	university
17	M	36	lawyer	university
18	F	39	Administrative asst.	secondary
19	M	41	A.I.D. Econ. specialist	university
20	M	45	Public Accountant	university
21	F	45	Min. of Education official	university
22	M	42	teacher in U.S.	university
23	F	46	secretary/A.I.D.	secondary
24	F	50	landowner (?)	secondary
25	F	50(?)	secretary/A.I.D.	secondary
26	F	58	retired teacher	university
27	M	58	doctor	university
28	F	17	student	secondary
29	F	19	student	secondary

APPENDIX II, cont.

PERSONAL DATA OF INFORMANTS

Informant No.	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education
30	F	21	waitress	elementary
31	F	23	student	university
32	F	23	hairdresser's asst.	elementary
33	M	24	worker in parent's store	secondary
34	F	34	secretary	university
35	M	29	student	university
36	M	29	tennis teacher	secondary
37	M	31	night watchman	elementary
38	M	33	works in Peace Corps office	university
39	F	34	housewife	secondary
40	F	36	dressmaker	elementary
41	M	38	businessman	university
42	F	39	hairdresser	secondary
43	M	42	dispatcher/Amer. Emb.	secondary
44	M	44	driver/Amer. Emb.	elementary
45	F	45	housewife	elementary
46	F	48	dressmaker	elementary
47	F	48	secretary (retired)	university
48	M	50	driver/Amer. Emb.	elementary
49	F	50	housewife	secondary
50	M	58	journalist/Amer. Emb.	secondary
51	F	61	dressmaker	secondary
52	F	78	former actress	elementary
53	F	86	dressmaker(retired)	elementary
54	F	51	maid	elementary
55	F	31	maid	elementary
56	F	38	dressmaker	elementary
57	F	19	prostitute	elementary(?)
58	F	29	maid	secondary

APPENDIX II, cont.

PERSONAL DATA OF INFORMANTS

Informant No.	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education
59	F	58	snack bar employee	secondary
60	F	32	maid	secondary
61	F	23	maid	secondary
62	F	28	maid	elementary
63	F	31	unemployeed maid	elementary
64	M	10	shoeshine boy	none
65	M	32	factory worker	elementary
66	M	65	gardener	elementary
67	F	12	hairdresser's asst.	elementary
68	M	22	student/mechanic	university

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire Results of Mother Tongue Guarani and Mother Tongue Spanish Comparison on Selected Questions*

8. ¿Cree Ud. que se debería usar guaraní y español como idiomas de instrucción en Paraguay (educación bilingüe)?

Guarani	Spanish	
77%	56%	Sí, en todos las regiones del Paraguay, incluyendo Asunción.
5%	25%	Sí, pero solamente en las regiones rurales donde no se habla español.
5%	19%	No, no se debería enseñar guaraní nunca. El español debería ser el único idioma de instrucción.
0%	0%	En otro caso. (Explique)_____
14%	0%	No sé.

9. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos use el español y el guaraní indistintamente en la escuela?

Guarani	Spanish	
77%	59%	☐ Sí
14%	25%	☐ No
5%	12%	☐ No importa
5%	3%	☐ No sé

10. a) ¿Obstaculíza el guaraní el aprendizaje en la escuela?

Guarani	Spanish	
41%	47%	☐ Sí
50%	47%	☐ No
9%	6%	☐ No sé

b) ¿Por qué?_____

11. a) ¿Entorpece el guaraní el conocimiento del español?

Guarani	Spanish	
36%	34%	☐ Sí
55%	59%	☐ No
9%	3%	☐ No sé
0%	3%	N.A.

b) ¿Por qué?_____

12. ¿Desearía que sus hijos hablara solamente en español en la escuela?

Guarani	Spanish	
32%	37%	☐ Sí
59%	56%	☐ No
9%	3%	☐ No importa
0%	0%	☐ No sé
0%	3%	N.A.

*Note: Some of the percentages may not add up to 100% because they were rounded off to the nearest whole percent.

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire Results of Mother Tongue Guarani and Mother Tongue Spanish Comparison on Selected Questions, cont.

18. a) ¿Qué opina en cuanto al futuro del guaraní en el Paraguay?

Guarani	Spanish	
86%	66%	☐ El guaraní siempre ocupará un lugar de importancia en el Paraguay.
9%	19%	☐ El español eventualmente desplezorá al guaraní en importancia.
5%	6%	☐ No sé.
0%	9%	☐ Otra. (Explique)_____

b) ¿Si se usara el guaraní en la enseñanza, afectaría eso en forma positiva o negativa el futuro del guaraní?

_____

19. ¿Le importa a Ud. que sus nietos y biznietos sepan guaraní?

Guarani	Spanish	
100%	72%	☐ Sí, a mi me importa.
0%	25%	☐ No, a mi no me importa.
0%	3%	N.A.

20. ¿Es necesario que una persona hable guaraní para ser considerada Paraguaya de verdad?

Guarani	Spanish	
77%	50%	☐ Sí
23%	50%	☐ No
		☐ No sé

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire Results of Comparison of Lesser Educated and Higher Educated Classes*(Selected Questions)

1. ¿Cuál fue el primer idioma que aprendió?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
58%	10%	☐ Guaraní
11%	62%	☐ Español
32%	19%	☐ Guaraní y español al mismo tiempo
0%	5%	☐ Otro idioma ¿Cual?_____
0%	5%	Don't know

8. ¿Cree Ud. que se debería usar guaraní y español como idiomas de instrucción en Paraguay (educación bilingüe)?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
74%	52%	Sí, en todos las regiones del Paraguay, incluyendo Asunción.
0%	29%	Sí, pero solamente en las regiones rurales donde no se habla español.
16%	14%	No, no se debería enseñar guaraní nunca. El español debería ser el único idioma de instrucción.
0%	5%	En otro caso. (Explique)_____
10%	0%	No sé.

9. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos use el español y el guaraní indistintamente en la escuela?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
74%	81%	☐ Sí
21%	10%	☐ No
5%	10%	☐ No importa
		☐ No sé

10. a) ¿Obstaculíza el guaraní el aprendizaje en la escuela?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
37%	38%	☐ Sí
53%	52%	☐ No
10%	10%	☐ No sé

b) ¿Por qué?_____

11. a) ¿Entorpece el guaraní el conocimiento del español?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
58%	24%	☐ Sí
37%	76%	☐ No
5%	0%	☐ No sé

b) ¿Por qué?_____

12. ¿Desearía que sus hijos hablara solamente en español en la escuela?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
37%	19%	☐ Sí
53%	81%	☐ No
10%	0%	☐ No importa
		☐ No sé

*Note: -Educ. refers to those with 0-6 years of schooling and +Educ. refers to those with a minimum of 1 year of university education.

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire Results of Comparison of Lesser Educated and Higher Educated Classes (Selected Questions), cont.

18. a) ¿Qué opina en cuanto al futuro del guaraní en el Paraguay?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
89%	71%	☐ El guaraní siempre ocupará un lugar de importancia en el Paraguay.
11%	14%	☐ El español eventualmente desplezorá al guaraní en importancia.
0%	5%	☐ No sé.
0%	10%	☐ Otra. (Explique)_____

b) ¿Si se usara el guaraní en la enseñanza, afectaría eso en forma positiva o negativa el futuro del guaraní?

_____

19. ¿Le importa a Ud. que sus nietos y biznietos sepan guaraní?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
89%	76%	☐ Sí, a mi me importa.
11%	24%	☐ No, a mi no me importa.

20. ¿Es necesario que una persona hable guaraní para ser considerada Paraguaya de verdad?

-Educ.	+Educ.	
79%	57%	☐ Sí
21%	43%	☐ No
		☐ No sé

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